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**From:** Barry Jackson [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 12, 2003 9:37 AM  
**To:** Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Subject:** indian

what was the name of the chief you recommended for medal of freedom

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**From:** Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Monday, October 20, 2003 9:14 AM  
**To:** bjackson [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** FW: Des Moines Register

fun watching this, see below.....

Reminded me - nice seeing you this weekend. Good to catch up. I'm having lunch with Bob Schellhas next week, was going to bring up cards ( I'm at this again ) with him in an effort to get you, D, myself and Bob together. Do you have a couple early evenings in early November you can give to me to try and work with everybody's schedule - and finally get this set. Well, take care..

Neil

Medicare still on table in Dean balanced-budget plan.

By THOMAS BEAUMONT  
Register Staff Writer  
10/19/2003

Democratic presidential candidate Howard Dean said in a weekend campaign visit in Iowa that he favors balancing the federal budget in part by limiting growth of entitlement programs. His remarks prompted escalated criticism from rivals who accuse him of favoring cuts to Medicare.

"We're going to have to limit the growth of entitlement programs. We don't have to cut," the former governor of Vermont said during the taping of "Iowa Press" on Friday at Iowa Public Television.

Although Dean said he would shield Social Security if spending restrictions were required to balance the budget, he declined to say which entitlements he would consider, and refused to rule out looking at Medicare, the federal health insurance for senior citizens.

"We don't know what numbers are going to fall where," Dean said in an interview Saturday. "The only thing I can tell you is we'll balance the budget faster than any other candidate, and we will not make any cuts in any major programs."

Rival presidential candidates Rep. [REDACTED] and Sen. [REDACTED] say Dean is wrong not to take Medicare off the table.

"When you cut Medicare to balance the budget, you end up hurting the program, hurting beneficiaries, causing their costs to go up," [REDACTED] said by telephone before a campaign event in Cedar Rapids. "It doesn't work."

Dean's comments Saturday sharpened his rivals' criticism of his Medicare position, which until now has been centered on his past statements.

As chairman of the National Governors Association in 1995, Dean endorsed a Republican-led effort in Congress

GTG-R004931

6/1/2004

From: Volz, Neil G. (AstDir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
Sent: Friday, April 05, 2002 6:43 PM  
To: 'Kimberly Ellison@ [REDACTED]'  
Subject: RE: Baseball Draft Tonight

any word back. I would like to take him to Signatures, but don't know his time constraints. Please let me know. Thanks

-----Original Message-----

From: Kimberly Ellison [mailto:Kimberly.Ellison@ [REDACTED]]  
Sent: Wednesday, April 03, 2002 4:19 PM  
To: volz [REDACTED]  
Subject: RE: Baseball Draft Tonight

i'll ask him and get back to you.  
can we move it to 1pm? he has a meeting until 12:30 that may run over.

(Embedded  
image moved  
to file: 04/03/2002 04:15:52 PM  
pic04452.pcx)

Record Type: Record

To: Kimberly Ellison [REDACTED]  
cc:  
Subject: RE: Baseball Draft Tonight

sounds good - does Barry have a favorite spot he likes to go?

-----Original Message-----

From: Kimberly Ellison [mailto:Kimberly.Ellison@ [REDACTED]]  
Sent: Wednesday, April 03, 2002 4:03 PM  
To: volz [REDACTED]  
Subject: RE: Baseball Draft Tonight

wednesday, 4/10? 12:30? let me know if that works. i will hold it for you.

(Embedded  
image moved  
to file: 04/03/2002 03:47:50 PM  
pic16233.pcx)

Record Type: Record

To: [REDACTED]

cc: Kimberly Ellison [REDACTED]  
Subject: RE: Baseball Draft Tonight

Kimberly, can you tell me a good day Barry has time to grab lunch in the near future, per our email exchange below? Thanks.

Neil Volz  
Greenberg Traurig  
ph - [REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----

From: Barry [REDACTED] Jackson [REDACTED] [mailto:Barry [REDACTED] Jackson [REDACTED]]  
Sent: Thursday, March 28, 2002 10:10 AM  
To: volz [REDACTED]  
Cc: Kimberly Ellison [REDACTED]  
Subject: Re: Baseball Draft Tonight

that would be fun -- call kimmie in my office and she'll set a time

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image moved [REDACTED]  
to file: 03/27/2002 04:55:20 PM  
pic17581.pcx)

Record Type: Record

To: Barry [REDACTED] Jackson [REDACTED]

cc:  
Subject: Baseball Draft Tonight

am I invited over as a co-owner of team Jackson? Seriously though, let me know if you have some time in the next couple weeks to grab lunch, or dinner/drinks? Talk to you later....

Neil Volz  
Greenberg Traurig  
ph - [REDACTED]

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Holly Bowers

Wrap-Up Sheet-- June 20, 2003

1. Called Woodmore to make 8 am tee time for Tuesday and sent you email about course being closed
2. Sent you dates for lunch meeting with Susan Ralston and Mercer Reynolds
3. Totaled up all Bush contribution checks we have received and sent you email
4. Updated check list in tasks
5. Put Glen Nager on the calendar for golf July 2<sup>nd</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup>
6. Changed golf on the 1<sup>st</sup> to Lowes Island with Williams, et al
7. Called Woodmore to have them get you a tee time at another club for next Tuesday.
8. Called Robert Baker's manager to find out details of lessons next week
9. Called Sigs to let them know how many for lunch and time
10. Sent you email Ted Higgins called
11. Called Shawn to find out if golf is on or off
12. Sent you email re golf
13. Confirmed tee time at Crofton CC and gave Joseph address and directions.
14. Showed you location of club in reference to Woodmore
15. Asked Jonathan to help me do the map of all the golf courses for you
16. Got Ted Higgins on the line with you
17. Tried to get Mike Scanlon on the line for you. Left message
18. Sent you email re agenda with Robert Baker next week
19. Got Bruce Goldstein for you on the line
20. Called Sabatini re time to fit your suits
21. Got \$300 from Laura and gave to Hillel to give to Moshe Broder
22. Called Bush campaign again with questions, but still have not heard back from the person that can answer. Asked Linsey to follow up with them first thing on Monday and get answers to you
23. Talked to Amy Berger again about dates for dinner.
24. Spoke with your father about hotels in Atlantic City
25. Called hotels your father recommended, but they were all sold out. Sent you email
26. Sent you and Pam email re dinner with Amy Berger and Glen Nager
27. Finished the map of the golf courses for you, and put in your packet
28. Gave all the details of your Atlantic City trip to Linsey so she can help out with logistics next week.
29. Emailed Todd Weiss's asst about golf with you on July 2<sup>nd</sup>, and sent you email
30. Faxed Sabbath times to house
31. Sent you email re R' Shemtov's birthday lunch at Archives
32. Put birthday lunch on calendar for next Wed.
33. Sent you message from Trustee Mossman
34. Got in touch again with Ira Mehlman re meeting, and sent you email

GTG-R005072

Holly Bowers  
Wrap-Up Sheet - July 8, 2003

1. Checked your voicemail - no messages
2. Right faxed you letter from Mark Anson
3. Confirmed with Larry Levy's asst that they received the conference call in numbers
4. Made sure Tim Flanigan's cell phone number is in contacts
5. Made contact entry for Mitchell Barak
6. Responded to your email re the O's suite catering
7. Called for a line stander for Finance cmte meeting at Dirksen.
8. Put Sun Cruz bankruptcy file on your desk
9. Looked up time and distance to Greenbrier from DC. Sent you email
10. Looked up time and distance to Homestead from DC. Sent you email
11. Put Bruce Goldstein through to you
12. Sent you email re Larry Latourette.
13. Put Pat Pizzella through to you
14. Sent Neil Volz the call in info for call with Larry Levy today
15. Called Seth Cropsey's office to confirm that drinks at 6 pm will work for him.  
Changed on your calendar
16. Called Sigs to let them know your meal scheduled for today
17. Set up meeting with Reed Rubenstein.
18. Rescheduled meeting with Brett Pfeffer
19. Put Will Brook through to you
20. Sent you email re Roger Engone
21. Called the Homestead to get more information on paintball and shooting. Sent you email
22. Printed paintball info and faxed to the house
23. Called in to the conference call for you
24. Sent Jason Murdock email re Scotland changes.
25. Confirmed dinner tonight with Susan Ralston
26. Looked up acela trains for your trip tomorrow to NYC. Sent you email
27. Booked trains for you to NYC
28. Called Raj in NY to arrange for your transportation
29. Rescheduled meeting with Ralph Benko and Jeff Bell. Sent you email
30. Coordinated with Richard Rosenbaum and his asst re your trip up there tomorrow
31. Searched for new train times to NY and changed acela train tickets
32. Sent you email re meeting with Larry Kramer.
33. Tried to get Zoe Epstein on the line for you
34. Confirmed 8 am tee time tomorrow
35. Called Dr. Jacobs office to find out if you can drink water before blood test
36. Called Dr. Horwitz to ask if he can come as early as possible to your house tomorrow. Left message and asked him to call office to confirm
37. Tried to get Zoe Epstein again for you. Left message and sent you email
38. Printed various things for your packet
39. Called Dr. Shmueli to see if he is available to meet on Thursday. Left message.
40. Called Raj back to let him know you are arriving later to Penn Station.

GTG-R005073

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**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 09, 2003 10:41 AM  
**To:** Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Subject:** RE: Caps Playoffs

ok

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 09, 2003 11:00 AM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** FW: Caps Playoffs

Shawn is requesting more fix for the playoffs.

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 08, 2003 6:10 PM  
**To:** Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Subject:** RE: Caps Playoffs

Wednesday

Erin Pierce -- Senator Bums/DoD and Mil. Con. Appropriations Subcommittees  
Matt Kirk -- White House Leg. Affairs  
Christine Drager -- Senate Appropriations  
Tim Kurth -- Speaker Hastert

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Bowers, Holly M. (AdmAst-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 08, 2003 5:55 PM  
**To:** DCGovTeam  
**Cc:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** Caps Playoffs

Hey guys - Please send me your requests for the first two Caps playoff games. The third game is tentative. Here is the schedule:

Game 1 - Tuesday, April 15 - Caps vs. Tampa Bay Lightning  
Game 2 - Wednesday, April 16 - Caps vs. Tampa Bay Lightning  
Game 3 (if necessary) - Sunday, April 20 - Caps vs. Tampa Bay Lightning

Holly Bowers  
Office of the Senior Director, Governmental Affairs  
Greenberg Traurig, LLP  
ph: 202 [REDACTED]

Linsey Crisler  
Wrap-up Sheet  
June 4, 2003

1. Order set of Seinfeld DVDs online
2. Check voicemail
3. Update shipping settings for Amazon.com
4. Sent email to Laura regarding check for Audio Visual Services
5. Put through call from Lou Cordia
6. Put through call from Ralph Reed
7. Put through call from Marc Schwartz
8. Update call sheet
9. Called Mark Schwartz to
10. Put through call from Dan Walsh
11. Put through call from Susan Ralston
12. Left message with Hernan Franco to call
13. Put through call from Hernan Franco
14. Sent message regarding call from Mrs. Lantos
15. Had intern order Reagan speeches on CD and VHS
16. Compiled list of potential donors to Bush campaign, letters A-D
17. Printed contacts
18. Spoke with Rob Coyle about Lantos lunch at Stacks/Archives
19. Put through call from Howard Phillips
20. Put through call from Meir Linzen
21. Sent Joseph with Pam's phone to Verizon (got new battery for her phone)
22. Took message from Shana
23. Opened/sorted mail
24. Sorted through documents in packets
25. Filing
26. Put through call from Shana
27. Sent check for golf simulator to AVS
28. Sent out Levi's CDs
29. Took message from your father and sent you email

GTG-R005113



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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf  
of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Saturday, January 11, 2003 5:14 PM  
To: 'Jack Oliver'  
Subject: RE: great to see you tonight

Will do. thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: Jack Oliver [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
Sent: Friday, January 10, 2003 6:43 PM  
To: abramoff [REDACTED]  
Subject: Re: great to see you tonight

Can you fax info on him to me at [REDACTED] Thanks

-----Original Message-----

From: abramoff [REDACTED]  
To: Jack Oliver [REDACTED]  
Sent: Fri Jan 10 00:35:01 2003  
Subject: great to see you tonight

I understand from Kevin that he might have spoken with you about the possibility of having Chief Philip Martin of the Choctaws receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom. As I am sure you know, he has been a HUGE supporter financially, politically and philosophically. It would be a great act for the President, recognizing the nation's leading tribal chief. anyway, thanks for considering it. hope to see you soon.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED]

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**From:** Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 29, 2001 9:49 AM  
**To:** Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Cc:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** FW:

—Original Message—

**From:** Butler, Susan [mailto: [REDACTED]@mail.house.gov]  
**Sent:** Thursday, November 29, 2001 10:42 AM  
**To:** Rudy, Tony; Lundy, John  
**Cc:** Williams, Clay  
**Subject:**

[REDACTED] and i met with ken mehlman, [REDACTED] and others at the white house yesterday re: issues important to chip. he told them the "story" of the choctaws under chief martin's leadership and then led into the jail situation. they were very positive and promised to work with us on it. they also indicated that they would like to consider chief martin for a board or commission on native american issues. i called nell to check his interest level and she asked that i get her the background on the commissions...i will do so.

[REDACTED]  
Congress [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] House Office Building

Washington, D.C. 20515

Phone: 202- [REDACTED]

Fax: 202- [REDACTED]

GTG-R005153

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From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2001 9:33 AM  
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
Subject: RE: BIA

I'm really trying here

-----Original Message-----

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2001 10:29 AM  
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Subject: FW: BIA

We need a last name.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ralph Reed [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2001 10:24 AM  
To: 'abramoff' [REDACTED]  
Subject: RE: BIA

please do. need that.

-----Original Message-----

From: abramoff [REDACTED]  
Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2001 10:15 AM  
To: Ralph Reed  
Subject: RE: BIA

Neal something (from California). We're trying to get the last name.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ralph Reed [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
Sent: Thursday, March 22, 2001 9:39 AM  
To: 'abramoff' [REDACTED]  
Subject: RE: BIA

do you have a name?

-----Original Message-----

From: abramoff [REDACTED]  
Sent: Wednesday, March 21, 2001 10:13 PM  
To: Ralph Reed  
Subject: FW: BIA

We MUST stop this. This would be SUCH a HUGE embarrassment. I can't believe they are contemplating this. Can you please weigh in with Karl on this? I cannot believe this.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Wednesday, March 21, 2001 10:02 PM  
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Subject: Fw: BIA

Kevin Ring

-----Original Message-----

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) [REDACTED]>

you bet. he's not even responded to my political emails' this weekend because of the racicot/rnc speech thunder.

-----Original Message-----

From: abramoff [REDACTED]  
Sent: Sunday, January 20, 2002 11:01 PM  
To: Ralph Reed  
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

Thanks Ralph. Susan said he could not see me until after the State of the Union. Need to get this moving as soon as possible. thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ralph Reed [REDACTED]  
Sent: Sunday, January 20, 2002 10:57 PM  
To: 'abramoff' [REDACTED]  
Subject: [REDACTED]

could not get to him because of format at lunch friday but am following up.

-----Original Message-----

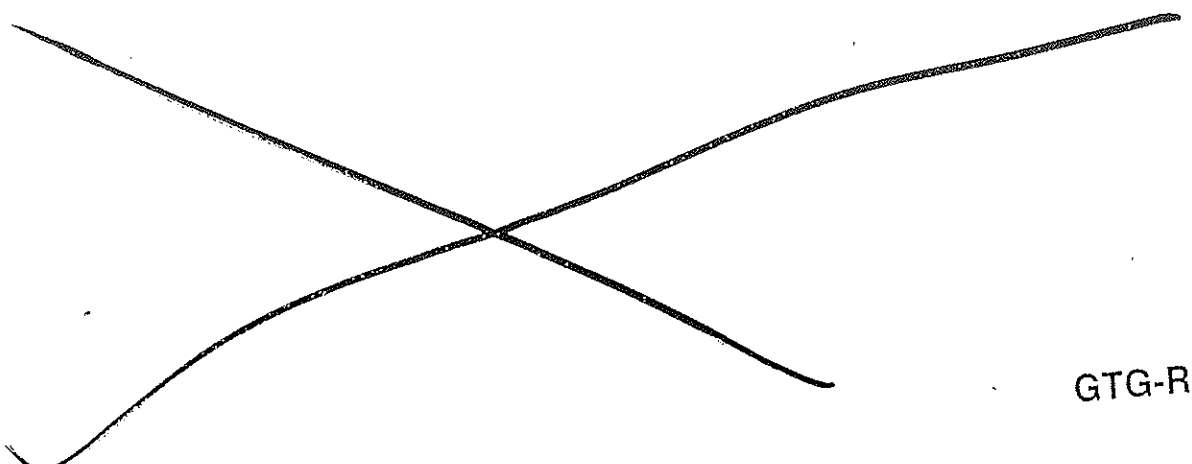
From: abramoff [REDACTED]  
Sent: Friday, January 18, 2002 2:28 PM  
To: Ralph Reed  
Subject: RE: [REDACTED]

I have an urgent matter for him. The Choctaws - who have given literally hundreds of thousands to our candidates and groups - are getting screwed at DoJ on a jail funding project by a lib Republican. The entire House leadership wrote a letter to Ashcroft and both R's and D's in both bodies want this. [REDACTED] wants it badly and the Congress passed language to get it done, but they are being jerks there. We really need some serious swat from Karl. I have asked Susan to get me in to see him on this, but if you could mention it, perhaps I could get him the materials and save the need to meet? Thanks Ralph.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ralph Reed [REDACTED]  
Sent: Friday, January 18, 2002 2:15 PM  
To: 'abramoff' [REDACTED]  
Subject: [REDACTED]

Am at a lunch with Rove at the RNC meeting and just talked to the AG. Will report the substance shortly.



GTG-R005191

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 9:14 AM  
To: 'Ralph Reed'  
Subject: [REDACTED]

Thanks Ralph.

-----Original Message-----

From: Ralph Reed [REDACTED]  
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 9:44 AM  
To: 'abramof' [REDACTED]  
Subject: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
2. happy to help on the other. I will need more info in a timely manner.

-----Original Message-----

From: abramof [REDACTED]  
Sent: Thursday, November 08, 2001 9:17 AM  
To: Ralph Reed  
Subject: [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

I need to ask a huge favor for this client. They were supposed to get funds to build a jail facility. Justice has screwed them around for years during Clinton (they didn't want jails I guess) and there are people at Justice (holdovers) who have made it very tough on them to get the funding. We were going to solve that with a hard earmark (meaning that the legislation - Commerce State Justice Appropriations - would have mandated the payment - \$16 million - and taken away DoJ discretion), but were only able to get a soft earmark. No one got a hard earmark for anything. Soft earmark means they have report language that the tribe should get funded, but it's not the same.

I need to push to get this done because it is the main thing we are doing for them this year in DC. If we fail, while I don't think I'd lose the client, it would be a huge blow and make our other efforts harder, if you know what I mean.

I am going to try to get to Rove on this, as well as Ashcroft. Can you help me with either?

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED]

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Wednesday, January 16, 2002 3:50 PM  
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov);  
Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Subject: RE: Choctaw Jail

Can someone get me a two paragraph summary I can use to get the meeting set?

-----Original Message-----

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Wednesday, January 16, 2002 4:44 PM  
To: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov);  
Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Subject: RE: Choctaw Jail

My siggestion is that you meet with Rove.

-----  
Todd Anthony Boulanger

-----Original Message-----

From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) <abramoff[REDACTED]>  
To: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov) <ring[REDACTED]>; Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
<boulanger[REDACTED]>; Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov) <rudy[REDACTED]>; Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov) <vasell[REDACTED]>  
Sent: Wed Jan 16 16:38:46 2002  
Subject: RE: Choctaw Jail

Shit. This is horrible. we need to end this. The client is literally at wits end. What can we do?

-----Original Message-----

From: Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Wednesday, January 16, 2002 4:36 PM  
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov);  
Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Subject: Choctaw Jail

Just got off the phone with Tracy Henke at DOJ. Geez! We are not there. She has seen letters and clearly is not impressed enough. We need to talk more later about this. OJP is going to offer Choctaw \$9 million again with understanding that Congress may push for remainder. Frustrating. Kevin Ring

From: TCRudy@aol.com  
Sent: Saturday, November 10, 2001 1:07 PM  
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
Subject: Memo



Choctaw.doc (40 KB)

Edit at will

To: Jack Abramoff  
From: Tony Rudy  
CC: Shawn Vasell  
Date: 11/10/2001  
Re: Next Step

While we were successful in obtaining report language in the final version of the State Justice Commerce Appropriations bill that highlights the Choctaw jail, we need to begin a second phase of attack against the bureaucrats who have held up the project for so long. Late yesterday afternoon we had a great meeting with Karl Rove's office that will hopefully bear fruit shortly. Ken Mehlman, the Deputy Political Director at the Bush White House, promised to begin a campaign immediately to get Justice to release some of Fiscal Year 2001 money that still remains unspent from the Tribal Justice Fund at the State Department. However, to turn the screws even further, I suggest the following: 1. Thank [REDACTED] did try at the last minute to get the

earmark through the House Appropriations Committee. He has delivered on the road projects we requested (although the final version of the legislation is not complete). We need to get him engaged in the effort to get the jail through Justice. If the Chief or Nell could call him and thank him for his efforts that would help get him further engaged in the effort. I also suggest that the Tribe mail the database of supporters asking them to call [REDACTED] and thanking them for what he is doing for the Choctaws. Then we go in for the ask.

2. [REDACTED] Letters, Meetings, Calls - We should immediately ask [REDACTED] to call both Ken Mehlman at the White House and David Israelite, the number two person at the Department of Justice to reiterate how important this project is for his re-election. We need to provide him with letters to send and also ask that we meet personally with Israelite and the bureaucrats in charge of the funding issue.

3. Letters from Leadership - I believe that we can quickly get letters from the House and Senate Leadership to the Justice Department demanding release of '01 funds. [REDACTED] has already indicated his approval for such a letter. This should ratchet up the pressure somewhat. Additionally, personal calls from [REDACTED] to Israelite will get this on his radar. Additionally, based on conversations with our associate Ron Platt, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] will sign a letter to the bureaucrat in charge. 4. Move Staff Visits - I believe we should begin to bring key Congressional staff to the reservation, including the CJS Clerk who refused the earmark in the House. That will protect us, if God forbid, we need the earmark next year.

5. Another Round of Donations - Some of our supporters have really stepped up to the plate to help us. We should be prepared to give to their projects and causes as soon as the money is released.

GTG-R005229

# Memo

**To:** Jack Abramoff  
**From:** Tony Rudy  
**CC:** Shawn Vasell  
**Date:** [DateField]  
**Re:** Next Step

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While we were successful in obtaining report language in the final version of the State Justice Commerce Appropriations bill that highlights the Choctaw jail, we need to begin a second phase of attack against the bureaucrats who have held up the project for so long.

Late yesterday afternoon we had a great meeting with Karl Rove's office that will hopefully bear fruit shortly. Ken Mehlman, the Deputy Political Director at the Bush White House, promised to begin a campaign immediately to get Justice to release some of Fiscal Year 2001 money that still remains unspent from the Tribal Justice Fund at the State Department.

However, to turn the screws even further, I suggest the following:

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5. Another Round of Donations -- Some of our supporters have really stepped up to the plate to help us. We should be prepared to give to their projects and causes as soon as the money is released.

---

**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 03, 2004 1:10 PM  
**To:** Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Subject:** RE: Chief Martin Presidential Medal of Freedom

Do you think it can happen? We need to know first so we can tell the Chief!

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Volz, Neil G. (Dir-DC-Gov/Adm)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 03, 2004 2:01 PM  
**To:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Cc:** DCOldSchool  
**Subject:** Chief Martin Presidential Medal of Freedom  
**Importance:** High

I just got a call from Barry Jackson's staff asking that I urgently send our information on Chief Martin to the White House. They need it by early tomorrow morning. It appears decisions are being made now on Presidential Medals of Freedom (aside from that bit of information, the guy I talked to did not know any specifics). Do we have letters from [REDACTED] and well as the packet of information we had put together that is faxable and/or email able? Please advise. thanks.

Neil

From: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2001 1:59 PM  
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Subject: RE: Jail Assignments

██████ told me last night that ████████ was willing to make a political phone call for the tribe if necessary. Just keep that in the back of your mind.

-----Original Message-----

From: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Thursday, November 15, 2001 2:57 PM  
To: Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov); Smith, Michael D. (Assoc-DC-Legis); Williams, Michael E. (Dir-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Platt, Ronald (Dir-DC-Gov); Leger, Stephanie K. (Assoc-DC-Gov/Adm); Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Slomowitz, Alan (Shld-DC-Legis); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov); Crisler, Linsey C. (Astdir-DC-Gov/Adm); DCChoctaw  
Subject: Jail Assignments  
Importance: High

I am sending this in lieu of having our 3:30 PM meeting. I would like to huddle again tomorrow for 15 minutes at 10:30 or 11 AM so the team is able to update each other on the progress of individual assignments. Thanks.

The Breakdown:

Ron Platt

\* ████████ to contact White House Leg. Affairs in the Senate regarding the jail earmarks, specifically the ████████ detention facilities.

\* ████████ to contact DOJ (Dan Bryant, Cong. Affairs, ████████) regarding the jail earmarks. Again, specifically highlighting the critical need to fund the ████████ and ████████ detention facilities.

\* Vet with ████████ staff a possible letter to the AG regarding the South Dakota and Mississippi detention facilities. Likely cosigner would be ████████ (I am discussing how ████████'s staff would like us to proceed on this - whether it is best to just have the leadership on a letter or the ████████ on the letter).

Mike Smith

\* Follow up with CJS staff regarding colloquy.

Kevin Ring

\* Gather intelligence from DOJ on next steps and to assess impact of political pressure from Congress.

\* ████████ to contact Ken Mehlman and Nick Calio.

\* Contact ████████ to encourage calls to WH (Hobbs) and DOJ (Bryant).

Tony Rudy

\* Gather intelligence from DOJ on next steps and to assess impact of political pressure from Congress.

\* Coordinate efforts with Rep. Pickering (Congressional Record statement; letter to AG; calls to White House (Mehlman) and DOJ (Bryant)).

\* Continued NRCC political pressure.

\* House Leadership strategy (most likely leadership letter(s) and calls to DOJ).

Specifically, [REDACTED] staff calls [REDACTED] to Hobbs at WH and Bryant at DOJ.

- \* Follow ups with Mehlman (jail materials and Senate colloquy).

Shawn Vasell

- \* DOJ time line. (We need to discuss how to present this. There are some pitfalls to handing DOJ a paper documenting what the Tribe has endured.)

- \* Follow up on [REDACTED] colloquy.

- \* Draft and editing of letters, specifically Pickering letter to AG and [REDACTED] letter to AG.

- \* Mehlman memo and materials to T. Rudy.

Stephanie Leger

- \* Drafting of statements/letters, specifically [REDACTED] letter to AG and [REDACTED] letter to AG.

Mike Williams

- \* Assist with obtaining [REDACTED] signature for [REDACTED] letter to AG.

- \* D. Hoppe call to WH and DOJ (may need assistance from JA).

---

**From:** Boulanger, Todd A. (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 03, 2004 3:57 PM  
**To:** Susan Ralston (E-mail); Susan Ralston (E-mail 2)  
**Subject:** Chief Phillip Martin

Neil Volz got a call this afternoon from Barry Jackson's staff asking that he urgently send our information on Chief Martin to the White House. They needed it by early tomorrow morning. The information has been sent. It appears decisions are being made now on Presidential Medals of Freedom ( aside from that bit of information, the guy Neil talked to did not know any specifics ).

I believe Chief Martin is seriously being considered for a Presidential Medal given all that he has done for the Choctaw people, surrounding community and MS as a whole. I don't believe the PMF has ever been given to one native American. I believe the Navajo code talkers received it as a group....so obviously, this would be a huge deal.

I wouldn't ask you to mention something to Barry if it was anyone else other than the chief, but in this case, I wish you would. He is truly deserving of this award, and I know it would be received well in Indian country.

Todd A. Boulanger  
Director of Government Affairs  
Greenberg Traurig LLP  
800 Connecticut Ave., NW Suite 500  
Washington, DC 20006

(p): 202-  
(f): 202-  
(c): 202-

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From: Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 3:14 PM  
To: Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov); Rudy, Tony (Shld-DC-Gov); Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov); Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)  
Subject: FW: meeting with Karl

Does it make sense meeting with Barrales.

-----Original Message-----

From: Susan Ralston - @GWB [REDACTED] Ralston@rnchq.org]  
Sent: Thursday, January 17, 2002 4:00 PM  
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
Subject: Re: meeting with Karl

No meetings until after state of the union. Too busy. Can you meet w/ ruben barrales, dir of intergovernmental affairs? He handles indian issues anyway and works directly under karl.

Susan Ralston

-----  
Please send all replies to [REDACTED] ralston@georgewbush.com

-----Original Message-----

From: abramoff [REDACTED]  
To: Susan Ralston - @GWB [REDACTED] Ralston@rnchq.org>  
Sent: Thu Jan 17 12:05:16 2002  
Subject: meeting with Karl

Would it be possible for me to spend 5 minutes with Karl about Choctaw? They are getting screwed by a liberal R at Justice about funding for their Jail project (complete support from the Hill, including letter signed by all House and Senate Leadership - I'll bring in or send over). They have been one of the party's best helpers, and this is totally incredible. Can you work me in for a few minutes? Thanks so much!

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [REDACTED].

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**From:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Friday, June 22, 2001 2:46 PM  
**To:** Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov); 'Terry Martin (E-mail)'  
**Subject:** RE: Photos at the White House

Terry, you are styling! --Todd

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Vasell, Shawn (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Friday, June 22, 2001 3:45 PM  
**To:** Terry Martin (E-mail)  
**Cc:** Boulanger, Todd (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** Photos at the White House

Terry,

The photos of Chairman Al and you at the White House are awesome. Todd and I are pulling them up on the computer and will send via email today. I will also send the developed photos Fed. Ex. today.

Shawn

GTG-R005323

**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GH-AW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf  
**Sent:** of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**To:** Friday, September 27, 2002 1:38 PM  
**Subject:** ZZ-Terry Martin  
ATR meeting with Bush

Hi Terry. Do you recall last year when Al and you came to that meeting in the White House with Bush, and speakers of the house from across the country, and got pictures with Bush?

Grover is hosting a similar meeting this year and has asked me to see if four of the tribes were interested in sponsoring the costs, at \$25K each. I have three in already (Coushatta, Agua Caliente and Choctaw), but wanted to see if you guys wanted to be the fourth. If not, no problem, as Saginaw Chippewa was very anxious to participate; but I told them that I would offer this to you first.

The meeting with Bush will be on October 11, but there will be other meetings on the 10th in DC. best to arrive on the 9th. It's actually perfect, since that Sunday (the 13th) is the Saints game. anyway, please let me know. Regards.



---

**From:** Tmartin [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Thursday, April 10, 2003 2:49 AM  
**To:** Ring, Kevin (Shld-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** Re: Resume

I began helping him early in the campaign through Chitimacha with a direct contribution and helping the LA Republican Party to raise money. His campaign returned the initial contribution as they were not accepting "gambling money" and would not accept my personal check as well. From that Jack had the issue resolved with the campaign staff by Ralph Reed. Chitimacha later made a contribution through ATR for us to have a small group meeting with Bush in the White House. I have personally been with him on probably 5 occasions both at the White House and in LA when stumping for LA candidates.

GTG-R005326

5/31/2004

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**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GTLAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Friday, December 13, 2002 3:36 PM  
**To:** 'Chris'  
**Subject:** RE: Gun Lake

Good. Screw them!!

—Original Message—

**From:** Chris [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 13, 2002 4:41 PM  
**To:** abramo [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Re: Gun Lake

This gets even better...I just heard that Peter Secchia is going to fund the lawsuit against Gun Lake to block the project. Looks like we have all the necessary pieces: Montau Peebles' plan, MI delegation opposition, and Secchia opposition. Camp is not going to look good on this in the long run if he doesn't get involved. I gave his office the heads-up on what I heard about Montau Peebles (nothing else). They were speechless.

—Original Message—

**From:** abram [REDACTED]  
**To:** [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 13, 2002 4:27 PM  
**Subject:** RE: Gun Lake

This is so beautiful. It gives me a lot of cover, which is one of the things Karl was worried about. It does not benefit them to be doing stuff on this publicly for me, as you can imagine, and he was really worried that we would cause a NYT like piece (remember the stuff about Louisiana). Fantastic.

—Original Message—

**From:** Chris [mailto: [REDACTED]]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 13, 2002 4:12 PM  
**To:** boutange [REDACTED]  
**Cc:** abram [REDACTED]  
**Subject:** Gun Lake

The material you sent has the letter plus an article in a Michigan newspaper talking about a Grand Rapids businessman (Peter Secchia) who was at the White House Christmas reception and lobbied Karl Rove on the Gun Lake issue (opposing). The article claims that [REDACTED] letter discusses the evils of gaming and that they lead to social decay. Take care.

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GTG-R005333

5/8/2004

# Greenberg Traurig Saginaw Chippewa Work Summary (FY 03 & 04)

## General

In 2002 and 2003, Greenberg Traurig's (the "Firm") central mission for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe of Michigan ("the Tribe") was to increase the Tribe's presence and exposure among the nation's lawmakers and administrators in Washington, DC. Greenberg Traurig was tasked by the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Council (at the direction of, and in coordination with, the Tribe's Legislative Affairs Department) to obtain Federal appropriations in several critical areas to fund diverse projects such as the construction of the Saginaw Chippewa Academy, the reconstruction of the Baseline Road, Saginaw Tribal Roads, Wind Energy Development Study, and the creation of the Joint Residential Treatment and Domestic Violence Center (Victims of Crime Program).

Greenberg Traurig has also been firmly committed to the protection and safety of the Tribal community. Our team responded decisively and effectively in 2002 (and hence forth) to a crisis involving drug-related criminal activities on the reservation. Greenberg Traurig came to the Tribe's aid during this time of need by activating the Department of Justice, which eventually led to the arrest of roughly thirty drug dealers from a nearby cocaine ring that were targeting the Tribal population. The Firm has used its contacts and influence at the Department of Justice to keep the lines of communication open in both directions.

Greenberg Traurig was responsible for initiating Federal challenges to counter recent proposals made by competing tribes in the area that not only threaten the Tribe's market share, but challenge the long-respected procedures for bringing land into trust and establishing a casino operation on tribal lands. Specifically, Greenberg Traurig was successful – and solely responsible – in defeating the Bay Mills land swap proposal for two consecutive years, and also managed to delay – with the intent of ultimately defeating – the Gun Lake Tribe's land in trust application to keep that tribe from going forward with its plans for a multi-million dollar casino in Allegan County, and the Senator Stevens "CIRI Amendment," which is described in greater detail below. Greenberg Traurig is also responsible for "holding" [REDACTED] Lumbee Recognition bill, S. 420, which if enacted would take away approximately 15% of Federal benefits from each tribe across the country because of the Lumbee's membership size. This matter is also discussed in more detail later on in this memo.

In addition, Greenberg Traurig worked on many legislative research projects for the Tribe to provide up to date legal analysis, accurate counsel, and powerful tribal lobbying. Greenberg Traurig also delivered advanced and factual information about the legislative schedule of the House and Senate. Lastly, Greenberg Traurig established a grant alert system for the Tribe to ensure the highest standard in meeting the Tribe's broad range of needs and interests at the Federal level.

**D) Exposure — Congressional Member, Staff and Administration  
Meetings/Courtesy Visits (with following):**

1. President George W. Bush
2. Attorney General John Ashcroft
3. [REDACTED]
4. [REDACTED]
5. Deputy Secretary Alfonso Jackson, Department of Housing and Urban Development
6. Assistant Secretary Michael Liu, Department of Housing and Urban Development
7. Secretary of Energy, Spence Abraham
8. Secretary of Labor, Elaine Chao
9. Senator [REDACTED]
10. Senator [REDACTED]
11. Senator [REDACTED]
12. Senator [REDACTED]
13. Senator [REDACTED]
14. Senator [REDACTED]
15. Senator [REDACTED]
16. Senator [REDACTED]
17. Senator [REDACTED]
18. Senator [REDACTED]
19. Senator [REDACTED]
20. Senator [REDACTED]

21. Senator [REDACTED]
22. Senator [REDACTED]
23. Senator [REDACTED]
24. Senator [REDACTED]
25. Senator [REDACTED]
26. Senator [REDACTED]
27. Representative [REDACTED]
28. Representative [REDACTED]
29. Representative [REDACTED]
30. Senator [REDACTED]
31. Senator [REDACTED]
32. Senator [REDACTED]
33. Senator [REDACTED]
34. Senator [REDACTED]
35. Senator [REDACTED]
36. Karl Rove -- White House Political Director
37. Representative [REDACTED]
38. Representative [REDACTED]
39. Representative [REDACTED]
40. Representative [REDACTED]
41. Representative [REDACTED]
42. Representative [REDACTED]
43. Representative [REDACTED]

44. Representative [REDACTED]
45. Representative [REDACTED]
46. Representative [REDACTED]
47. Representative [REDACTED]
48. Representative [REDACTED]
49. Representative [REDACTED]
50. Representative [REDACTED]
51. Representative [REDACTED]
52. Representative [REDACTED]
53. Jennifer Farley – White House Inter-Governmental
54. Chris Mansur – Chief of Staff for Rep. [REDACTED]
55. Kimberly Teehee – Legislative Assistant for [REDACTED]
56. Jennifer Yocham – Indian Affairs Outreach Coordinator for DSCC
57. Jack Oliver – Deputy Chairman of the Republican National Committee
58. Kimo Kaloi – Professional Staffer for the [REDACTED]
59. Mike Olsen – Professional Staffer for the [REDACTED]
60. Patty Bouch – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
61. Sander Lurie – Chief of Staff/Legislative Director for [REDACTED]
62. Tracy Gross – Legislative Assistant for [REDACTED]
63. Larry Vigil – Legislative Director for Senator [REDACTED]

64. Brian Feintech – Appropriations Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
65. Steve McHugh – Deputy Staff Director for [REDACTED]
66. John Tahsuda – Professional Staffer for the [REDACTED]
67. Karen Wayland – Legislative Fellow for Senator [REDACTED]
68. Grover Norquist – President of the Americans for Tax Reform (ATR)
69. Rob Jesmer – National Field Director for the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC)
70. Ted Christian – Michigan Field Director for the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC)
71. Kent Keyser – Chief of Staff for Rep. [REDACTED]
72. Marie Howard – Legislative Assistant for Rep. [REDACTED]
73. Jason Hill – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
74. Mike Robinson – Legislative Director for Rep. [REDACTED]
75. Laura Quattlebaum – Legislative Director for Rep. [REDACTED]
76. John Press – Legislative Assistant for Rep. Barcia (D-MI)
77. Bob Coughlin – Professional Staff, Department of Justice Inter-Government Affairs Office
78. Matt Kirk – White House Legislative Affairs
79. Pam Thiessen, Legislative Director, Office of Senator [REDACTED]
80. Rick Desmond – Chief of Staff for [REDACTED]

81. Tricia Pearson – Political Director for Senator [REDACTED]
82. Tom Young – Chief of Staff for [REDACTED]
83. Linus Catignani – Finance Director for the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC)
84. Nicole Sexton – Director of the Chairman's Foundation (NRSC)
85. Susan Hirschman – Chief of Staff for the Office of [REDACTED]
86. Dan Flynn – Member Outreach/Deputy Chief of Staff for [REDACTED]
87. Kevin McCrea – Congressional Affairs Office for the Small Business Administration (SBA)
88. Debbie Dingell
89. Andy Keiser – Legislative Assistant for [REDACTED]
90. Jon DeWitt – Legislative Assistant for Rep. [REDACTED]
91. Justin Wootneester – Legislative Assistant for Rep. [REDACTED]
92. Matt Reiffer – Legislative Assistant for Rep. Vernon Ehlers
93. Tracy Toulou – Director of the Office of Tribal Justice, Department of Justice
94. Mike McElaney – Senior Legislative Assistant for Rep. [REDACTED]
95. Roger France – Chief of Staff for Rep. [REDACTED]
96. Assad Akhter – Legislative Assistant for Rep. [REDACTED]
97. Shelly Camacho – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]

98. Dennis Ellis – Legislative Counsel to Representative [REDACTED]
99. Affie Burnside – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
100. Chris Ziegler – Chief of Staff for Rep. [REDACTED]
101. Paul Teller – Legislative Director for the Conservative Action Team (CATs)/Republican Study Committee (RSC)
102. Melissa Busse – Legislative Assistant for Rep. [REDACTED]
103. The Leaders Lunch – House and Senate Republican Leaders
104. Dwight Fetting – Legislative Director for Senator [REDACTED]
105. Whitney Rhoades – Professional Staff for [REDACTED]
106. George Conant – Professional Staff for the [REDACTED]
107. Mark Johnson – Chief of Staff for Representative [REDACTED]
108. Ashley Cooper – Legislative Director for Senator [REDACTED]
109. Brett Boyles – PAC Director for Senator [REDACTED]
110. David Dumke – Legislative Director for Representative [REDACTED]
111. Jeff Onizuk – Legislative Director for Representative [REDACTED]
112. RNC Majority Fund Quarterly Dinner
113. Pete Evich – Legislative Director for Representative [REDACTED]
114. Genna Burnhardt – Legislative Affairs Staffer, Department of Justice

115. John Little – LA/Counsel for Senator [REDACTED]
116. Malloy McDaniel – Senate [REDACTED]
117. Mike Volkow – Senior Counsel on Criminal Issues for the [REDACTED]
118. Andre LeBlanc – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
119. Senate Republican Legislative Directors Group
120. Graham Hill – Professional Staffer, House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee
121. Colin Chapman – Chief of Staff for Representative [REDACTED]
122. Dawn Levy – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
123. Seth Voyles – Legislative Assistant for Representative [REDACTED]
124. Brian Griffin – Senior Senate Floor Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
125. Dan Barron – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
126. Michelle Chen – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
127. Daniel Weaver – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
128. Cory Gardner – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
129. Julia Gustafson – Legislative Assistant for Representative [REDACTED]
130. Tricia Geringer – Legislative Director for Representative [REDACTED]
131. David Cobb – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
132. Jacob Roche – Legislative Assistant for Representative [REDACTED]

133. Shelly Camacho – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
134. Jim Perry – Legislative Director for Representative [REDACTED]
135. Rob Hobart – Legislative Director for Representative [REDACTED]
136. Republican Eagles Event
137. Dena Battle – Chief of Staff for Representative [REDACTED]
138. Patricia Zell, Staff Director for the Senate [REDACTED]
139. Stephanie Mohl – Legislative Assistant for Senator [REDACTED]
140. Jackie Check – Director of Congressional and Legislative Affairs, BIA
141. Kara Moore – Chief of Staff, Rep. [REDACTED]
142. Heather Keiser – Legislative Director, Rep. [REDACTED]
143. Noushin Jahani – Legislative Assistant, Senator [REDACTED]
144. Jim Hall, Professional Staff/Majority Counsel, Senate [REDACTED]
145. Joanna Foust, Legislative Assistant, Rep. [REDACTED]
146. Jim Brandell, Chief of Staff, Rep. [REDACTED]
147. Drew Cantor, Senior Communications Adviser, Senator [REDACTED]
148. Joseph Watson, Legislative Director, Office of Senator [REDACTED]
149. Katherine McGuire – Legislative Director, Office of Senator [REDACTED]
150. Shawn Whitman, Legislative Director, Office of Senator [REDACTED]

151. Paul Palagyi, Legislative Director, Office of Senator [REDACTED]
152. Bill Oorbeck, CoS, NRCC [REDACTED]
153. House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee Staff -- Graham Hill
154. Heather Keiser, Legislative Director, Representative [REDACTED]
155. Unity Student Meeting with [REDACTED]
156. Jason Ouimet, Legislative Assistant with Senator [REDACTED]
157. Mark Powell, Candidate for [REDACTED] in Michigan
158. Dean Beatie, Office of Governor Granholm (D-MI), Washington, DC office
159. Ed Corrigan, Executive Director, [REDACTED]
160. Robert Turner, Legislative Assistant, Senator [REDACTED]
161. Greg Facchiano, Legislative Assistant, Rep. [REDACTED]
162. Doug Faulker, Principal Deputy & the Assistant Secretary for EERE Programs
163. Drew Willison, Professional Staff, Energy and Water Appropriation
164. Brian Hall, Legislative Director, Senator [REDACTED]
165. Pete Snyder, CEO, New Media Strategies
166. Tom Russell, Political Designer, [REDACTED]
167. Tom Shea, CoS, Senator [REDACTED]
168. Kevin Koonce, Legislative Director, Senator [REDACTED]

169. Erik Iverson, CoS, Rep. [REDACTED]
170. Michelle Singer, Legislative Assistant, Senator [REDACTED]
171. Fred Hatfield, CoS, Senator [REDACTED]
172. Tanner Johnson, Legislative Assistant, Senator [REDACTED]
173. Jared Brown, Legislative Assistant, Senator [REDACTED]
174. Jake Johnson, Professional Staff, Senate [REDACTED]
175. Carin Nersesian, Legislative Assistant, Representative [REDACTED]
176. Chuck Yessain, Legislative, Rep. [REDACTED]
177. Cody Steward, Executive Director, House [REDACTED]
178. Trevor Kolego, Legislative Assistant [REDACTED]
179. Amy Arglier, Professional Staff, Senate [REDACTED]
180. Matt Strawn, CoS, Rep. [REDACTED]
181. Tom Brierton, Professional Staff, House [REDACTED]
182. Chris Fluhr, Professional Staff, House [REDACTED]
183. Joby Fortson, Counsel, Rep. [REDACTED]
184. Katherine Webb, Legislative Assistant, Senator [REDACTED]
185. Manning Feraci, CoS, Representative [REDACTED]



186. Greg Hill, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development
187. New Democratic Network
188. Gordon Taylor, CoS, Representative [REDACTED]
189. Jody Comeaux, Scheduler, Representative [REDACTED]
190. Safari Club
191. Kai Anderson, Legislative Director, Senator [REDACTED]

192. Nancy Okewicz, Professional Staff, [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
193. Michal Shumaker, Legislative Assistant, [REDACTED]
194. West Higgenbotham, Legislative Assistant, [REDACTED]
195. Lindsey Lovlien, Legislative Assistant, [REDACTED]
196. Cody Johnson, Legislative Assistant, [REDACTED]

## II) Federal Appropriations

Greenberg Traurig was able to secure a number of significant appropriations for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe during Fiscal Year 2003 and 2004 appropriations processes. It is important to note that the appropriations process typically ends in October of the previous fiscal year. However, due to the November 2002 election and the subsequent temporary change in power from Democrat to Republican control in the US Senate during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Session of the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, the FY 2003 appropriations process was delayed until the new year. Work was finally completed on the massive, eleven-bill Omnibus Appropriations Act during the second week of February 2003. Another obstacle to passage was President Bush's insistence on a 2% across-the-board cut on all non-defense related appropriations. Despite these impediments, Greenberg Traurig was successful in its lobbying efforts to obtain several considerable appropriations for the Tribe.

Similarly, the Fiscal Year 2004 appropriations cycle has also delayed for several of the appropriations bills. Currently, 7 of the 13 appropriations bills have yet to pass, and are included in an Omnibus appropriations bill that is likely to pass in late January/early February of 2004.

### Interior Appropriations

#### ➤ School Cost Share – Tribal School Construction Demonstration Program

In FY 2003, an appropriation for three million dollars was included in the Interior portion of the Omnibus bill for a five-year demonstration program that would allow willing tribes to cost-share the construction of tribal schools (*Attachment 1*). Including this language in the Omnibus bill was controversial for two main reasons: (1) it was new and unauthorized spending; and (2) it would defy nearly two decades of BIA efforts to prohibit schools not on the BIA Replacement Priority List from receiving Federal construction dollars (the Saginaw Chippewa Academy is a non-BIA-operated school).

A tremendous amount of "ground work" needed to be laid before this project could come to fruition. Greenberg Traurig served as the driving force behind the production of six letters of support to various relevant House-Senate Chairmen/Ranking members. This included a letter from [REDACTED] waiving jurisdiction of the authorization language which prohibited the program from being subject to a point of order. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This proved to be a powerful clarification of the Tribe's role in bringing the Demonstration Program to the Senate's attention, and of the Tribe's ultimate responsibility for the program to receive funding (*Attachment 2*).

Through out the year in 2003 (FY 04 Appropriations), the Firm tried to free-up the money without additional legislative work by coordinating several letters to Secretary Norton asking her to release the appropriated money (*Attachment 3*). Unfortunately, the process dragged on too long and we were forced to insert a \$3 million "hard" earmark in the FY 04 Interior Appropriations bill that included a line item for the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe (*Attachment 4*).

#### Transportation Appropriations

➤ **Baseline Road – Isabella County, Michigan**

In FY 03, Greenberg Traurig was successful in obtaining \$1,475,000 in Federal dollars for the Baseline Road, which services many of the rural districts in Nottawa, Deerfield, Union and Isabella townships in Isabella County, Michigan. The money will be used for re-paving, drainage upgrades and bridge replacement over roughly 9 miles. It is important to note that the Baseline Road project is the third highest dollar figure for transportation earmarks in the Omnibus appropriations bill for the entire state of Michigan (*Attachment 5*).

➤ **Saginaw Tribal Roads (on-reservation)/Mt. Pleasant Municipal Airport**

In FY 04, Greenberg Traurig was successful in obtaining \$1,200,000 in Federal dollars for the Saginaw tribal roads (*Attachment 6*). Previously, the Saginaw Chippewa tribe had been receiving roughly \$60,000 per year. The \$1,200,000 million appropriated to the tribe covers nearly half the outstanding inventory for all the tribal roads on their reservation lands.

Also in FY 04, the Greenberg Traurig was successful in obtaining \$150,000 for construction work at the Mt. Pleasant Municipal Airport. Like the Baseline Road, the Tribe submitted this request on behalf of the airport in an effort to build their relationship with the local non-Indian communities (*Attachment 7*).

*\*\*\*The FY 04 Transportation Appropriations bill is part of the Omnibus bill that is expected to pass early next year.\*\*\**

#### Labor-HHS/CJS/VA-HUD Appropriations

➤ **Victims of Crime – Joint Residential Treatment and Domestic Violence Center**

In FY 03, Greenberg Traurig was able to secure \$405,000 from the VA-HUD/EDI section, \$1.1 million from the Labor-HHS/HRSA section and \$500,000 from the CJS/JJP section for a total of \$2,005,000. This amount will be used for the construction, equipment and operational costs associated with the Tribe's proposal to build a domestic violence and

residential treatment center. It is important to note that each account is dedicated for a certain purpose, i.e. construction, equipment, or operation. This is determined by the designated earmark (*Attachment 8*).

In FY 04, Greenberg Traurig was successful in obtaining an additional \$750,000 in the Labor-HHS appropriations for continued funding of construction and programmatic costs associated with the Victims of Crime Program (*Attachment 9*).

*\*\*\*The FY 04 Transportation Appropriations bill is part of the Omnibus bill that is expected to pass early next year.\*\*\**

➤ **Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Police Force**

Also, in FY 04, Greenberg Traurig was successful in obtaining \$300,000 in the CJS appropriations bill for the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Police Force (*Attachment 10*).

*\*\*\*The FY 04 Transportation Appropriations bill is part of the Omnibus bill that is expected to pass early next year.\*\*\**

**Agriculture Appropriations**

➤ **Saginaw Chippewa Water Main Extension Program**

In FY 04, Greenberg Traurig was successful in obtaining \$200,000 for the Saginaw Chippewa Water Main Extension Program (*Attachment 11*).

*\*\*\*The FY 04 Transportation Appropriations bill is part of the Omnibus bill that is expected to pass early next year.\*\*\**

**Energy and Water Appropriations**

➤ **Saginaw Chippewa Wind-Energy Project**

In FY 04, Greenberg Traurig was successful in obtaining \$300,000 for the Saginaw Chippewa Wind-Energy Project (*Attachment 12*).

**Total Federal Appropriations in Fiscal Year 2003/2004: \$8,610,000**

**III) Protecting the Tribal Community**

The Saginaw Chippewa Tribe has long faced a myriad of societal problems that mirror those found in mainstream culture, including crime, influence of gang

activity, alcohol abuse, and the illegal use of drugs. However, in 2002 and 2003, the Tribe witnessed an alarming increase in drug-related crimes on the reservation, and this dangerous trend quickly spiraled out of control. The level of danger reached critical levels in the summer of 2002, when a number of Tribal members were kidnapped by drug dealers of a Detroit crack cocaine ring, and held hostage until someone could come to "bail" them out. The drug dealers were allegedly targeting the local Native American population because of a misguided perception of the Tribe's bountiful and available wealth. In fact, the Detroit men had another goal – to father children with Tribal women – because they believed this would merit per capita income. Clearly, the Saginaw Tribe would not have been able to handle this crisis alone.

Greenberg Traurig's involvement proved to be essential in putting an end to the drug kidnapping emergency. We immediately activated our team to engage the Department of Justice in this pursuit – specifically Attorney General John Ashcroft, and Director of the Office of Tribal Justice, Tracy Toulou. We coordinated and drafted letters from [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] urging the Justice Department to respond decisively and effectively to the plight of the Saginaw Tribe.

The efforts of Greenberg Traurig created an umbrella effect with the District Attorneys in the State of Michigan. In turn, these D.A.'s pressed for immediate police involvement, and this led directly to the September 2002 arrests of approximately 30 drug dealers involved in the kidnappings.

Greenberg Traurig successfully rose to the occasion by putting forth its utmost effort to respond energetically and quickly to the time-sensitive needs of the Tribe. By galvanizing the support of the Department of Justice, our team managed not only to stop the criminals in their tracks, but also to draw Federal attention to the Saginaw Tribe. During the crisis, federal prosecutors visited the Tribe's reservation for the first time since the 1920's, thereby focusing national energy to the critical matter.

In 2003, Greenberg Traurig continued to help the Tribe plan and adopt programs to address the societal problems of the Tribal community. Although some success has been attained in the arena of drug-related criminal activities, many of these woes continue to fester, and will need additional attention. The Saginaw Chippewa Tribe has the vision, will, and determination to face and address these problems in a forthright and stalwart manner, and Greenberg Traurig will remain committed to this important pursuit.

#### IV.) TEA-21 Reauthorization

We worked on two major transportation issues for the Saginaw this year. First we framed a very large TEA-21 request for the Interstate US-127 project, a \$163 million construction project. Funding for this project was requested by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Greenberg Traurig drafted the formal House Transportation and Infrastructure request form and circulated it to the relevant members for their signature (*Attachment 13*). We educated staff and Members about the merits of the project and the need for the project to begin now, but to be phased over a few years due to the very large price tag. The project—along with thousands of others—could be considered early in 2004, if the House takes up the reauthorization bill as it is expected to do in Committee. (The Senate bill contained no projects, as has been the case during the last few reauthorizations.) There may be a delay in consideration of the bill until after the election in November 2004 because of a larger political fight over the wisdom of raising the gas tax to pay increase the funds in the Highway Trust Fund for road projects and transportation programs.

We also worked on a major new provision to incorporate into the TEA-21 highway bill. The provision will allow tribes to issue Tax-exempt bonds for tribal road projects and have the government pay back 75% to 90% of the value of the bonds. We are negotiating the language with the House authorizing committee now. The Senate authorizing committee bill contained no new programs because its bill authorizes much less funding, so the provision is not contained in that bill. This provision would put Tribes in control of issuing bonds for important road construction projects because they would generate the funding for the projects from the markets without waiting on the BIA.

Additionally, we have worked on reforms to the current Indian Reservation Road Program in the BIA. These reforms essentially shift the program from the BIA directly to Tribes to administer. It allows Tribes to take the overhead funds that the BIA now keeps and apply them to their own road program.

#### V.) Land Grant Status for Tribal College—Indian Technical Corrections

Greenberg Traurig included a provision in S. 532, the Native American Technical Corrections Act of 2003, that would have extended Land Grant Status to the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal College. The Saginaw provision was included in the base text of [REDACTED] bill that was introduced on March 5, 2003 (*Attachment 14*).

This provision passed the Senate Indian Affairs Committee, the full Senate, and the House Resources Committee by "Unanimous Consent". The Agriculture Committee has now objected to the provision because the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) sent a letter to [REDACTED] (R-VA) against the Saginaw's membership. It is important to note that AIHEC

sent the letter against the Saginaw even though the Tribe is a paying member of the organization. Greenberg Traurig had been successfully putting pressure on the Chairman and House Leadership to maintain the provision and "roll" AIHEC, but with the Firm off the field, will most-certainly get stripped from the bill. This provision would have brought the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe \$600-800,000 per year in programmatic funding for the tribal college.

#### VI.) HUD

In October of 2003, the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intergovernmental Affairs at the Department of Housing and Urban Development contacted Greenberg Traurig to discuss the possibility of the Secretary, or possibly the President of the United States, visiting Saginaw in the spring to highlight minority housing programs. HUD plans to do 5-7 events throughout the country next year highlighting such programs. The inquiry from HUD regarding the visit by the Secretary or the President is a direct result of Chris Petras and the Firm's networking efforts and friendships at HUD. Following our initial discussions with HUD representatives regarding the willingness of the Saginaw Chippewa to host such an event, we were informed that the Saginaw were included on the recommended master list of events sent to the White House for review. We should hear in early 2004 if the Secretary or President will visit Saginaw Chippewa reservation.

#### VII.) Lumbee

The Lumbees of North Carolina continue to ignore established procedures in their attempt to gain federal recognition. The Lumbees may very well be entitled to federal recognition and the benefits that come with it. However, the Lumbees are not entitled to circumvent an established system requiring a detailed review of multiple criteria in order to gain federal recognition through an individual legislative measure. The Lumbees are no different than any other American Indian Tribe and they should be bound to follow the formal acknowledgement process administered by the U.S. Department of Interior which every other American Indian Tribe has had to follow.

For inexplicable reasons-- perhaps to secure constituent support - assisting the Lumbees in a manner that wholly disregards long-standing administrative procedures for federal recognition. There is no valid basis for doing this.

The Congressional Budget Office estimates the initial recognition of the Lumbee will cost approximately \$500,000,000. Without budget increases, this could impact Federal benefits to existing tribes by as much as 15 percent.

#### VIII.) CIRI

This amendment would authorize Alaska Native Regional Corporations to be treated as Indian Tribes for purposes of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act and to take land into trust in the continental United States for gaming purposes. The amendment gives the Alaska Native Regional Corporations the right for ten years to have land automatically taken into trust for gaming purposes and to have that land treated as if had been in trust prior to the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act which would give the Corporation the right to conduct gaming without the State's consent. One of the Alaska Regional Native Corporations, Cook Inlet Region, Inc., has statutory authority to acquire federal land wherever located.

#### VIX.) Safeguarded Tribal Interests From Taxation

Worked continually with House and Senate Leadership, Ways & Means, Finance, Members of Congress and staff to prevent legislation, legislative language in tax bills and amendments/riders.

- Indian Gaming Tax
- Restrictions On Taking Lands Into Trust
- Motor Fuels/Cigarette Taxation

#### X.) Protected Tribal Interests On Appropriations Bills

Worked with House and Senate Leadership, Appropriations Committees, Members of Congress and staff to prevent amendments/riders adverse to client and Indian country in general.

#### XI.) Targeted Defense Of Indian Gaming

Continued our campaign with Members of Congress, staff, media, Indian tribes and organizations and DC policy and think tank groups to promote tribal gaming, economies and self-sufficiency. Launched targeted offensive against Indian gaming critics by articulating that Indian gaming revenues fund tribal governments, supplement and even supplant declining Federal tribal resources and have allowed tribes to develop tribal economies and diversify and expand tribal business.

- Fought Unnecessary Expansion of National Indian Gaming Commission Into Class III Gaming



- Fought IGRA Amendments (Campbell Legislation)
- Internet Gaming - Ensured That Tribes Receive Equal Treatment

#### **XII.) Promote Tribal Economic Diversification And Private Sector Development**

Continue work with Leadership, Members of Congress, staff, media, think tank and policy groups to educate the Congress and public about tribal governments and importance of developing tribal economies to provide services to tribal members.

- Passage Of Legislative Language That Assists Tribes With Economic Development And Diversification
- Creates Incentives For And Advocate Private Sector Development
- Encourage Economic Diversification On Reservations

#### **XIII.) Tribal 401k/Pension Plan Legislation**

H.R. 3605 was introduced by J.D. Hayworth on Friday, November 21. The bill would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and the Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 to clarify that federally recognized Indian tribal governments are to be regulated under the same government employer rules and procedures that apply to Federal, State, and other local government employers with regard to the establishment and maintenance of employee benefit plans. This legislation is to provide a vehicle for obtaining cosponsors and gathering support in the House and Senate as we seek to attach the measure to the Pension Bill next year.

#### **XIV.) Regional Gaming Matters**

The Saginaw Chippewa Tribe is faced with a myriad of threats to their market share. While there are several non-tribal groups seeking additional gaming in the state (race tracks), the biggest threat to the Tribe is the ever-increasing efforts of neighboring tribes to obtain Class III gaming through the use of outside financiers and behind the scene political deals.

##### **Tribal Threats:**

**Bay Mills Indian Community** – During the 107<sup>th</sup> Congress, the Bay Mills Indian Community, with much assistance from several political heavyweights in Michigan, was able to persuade [REDACTED] introduce land-swap legislation (S. 2986/H.R. 5459) that would place land into trust for the Bay Mills tribe for off-reservation gaming purposes. The legislation was hastily introduced at the end of the legislative session, and would

have been harmful for many reasons if it were allowed to pass. It was dangerous not only for its bad public policy and negative precedent-setting, but also for the sole fact that it would detrimentally impact the Saginaw Chippewa's market share.

- (1) If passed, the legislation would have undermined the gaming compacts that were approved by the Michigan State Legislature after years of careful and deliberate negotiations.

- [REDACTED] would have circumvented the terms negotiated in all eleven Tribal-State Compacts, including the Compact to which Bay Mills is a party, which prohibits off-reservation gaming in the absence of a revenue-sharing agreement involving all of Michigan's federally recognized Tribes.

- In
- recent gaming compacts, the Tribes involved all agreed to limit themselves to one gaming site for each tribe. However, this legislation would allow Bay Mills, which already has two gaming facilities, to open an additional facility hundreds of miles from its own reservation, in direct competition with the Tribes of the lower peninsula.

- (2) Allowing a tribe to settle a land claim and receive trust land hundreds of miles from their reservation for the express purpose of establishing a gaming facility sets a dangerous precedent.

- The pursuit of off-reservation gaming operations should continue to follow the procedures outlined in §20(b)(1)(A) of The Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (P.L. 100-497), authorizing Tribal gaming operations on off-reservation "after-acquired lands" where the land to be acquired has no relationship to the land upon which the claim was based.

- The proposed casino would be located just north of Detroit on a major link to Ontario

that is in the lower corner of the lower peninsula. Bay Mills is located in the upper peninsula.

- (3) The legislation is fundamentally flawed because it allows Bay Mills to establish gaming facilities under the guise of settling a land claim.
- The land claim simply serves as an excuse for the Bay Mills tribe to take land into trust for off-reservation gaming.

Greenberg was successful in delaying the hearing on S. 2986 in the Senate Indian Affairs Committee (SIAC) for almost two weeks. This was important because the legislative session was nearing an end, and time was running out for Committee markup and floor consideration of the legislation. Although we were unable to block the hearing, we were ultimately successful in shedding light on the legislation's impact by directly lobbying SIAC members and staff.

██████████ tried bringing her legislation up by unanimous consent on the Senate floor. We were successful in obtaining an objection by ██████████ ██████████, and thereby were able to defeat the proposal for the year.

Despite Greenberg Traurig's recent successes in the Bay Mills matter, the land swap proposal continues to pose an on-going threat. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] in February of 2003 (H.R. 831) for the 108<sup>th</sup> Congress to consider.

**Gun Lake.**— The Gun Lake Tribe, otherwise known as the Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Pottawatomí Indians, was recognized by the federal government as a sovereign Indian nation on August 23, 1999. The Tribe is headquartered in Allegan County of western Michigan, in the town of Dorr, about 20 miles south of Grand Rapids. When it received its federal status, it had an enrollment of 127. David K. Sprague is the Chairman of the Tribe.

Currently, the Gun Lake Tribe wants to build a multimillion dollar casino resort in Wayland Township, near Dorr, which would include a hotel, three restaurants, a sports bar, two fast-food outlets, an entertainment lounge for live performances, and a 180,000 square foot casino. However, two steps remain before the casino can be built: (1) putting the proposed site into federal trust; and (2) obtaining a compact with the state of Michigan.

Working with Republican members of the Michigan delegation, Greenberg Traurig has successfully extended the public comment period for the Gun Lake Tribe's Environmental Assessment regarding their land in trust application. We have coordinated letters from the Michigan delegation to Secretary of Interior

Gale Norton, Governor Granholm of Michigan, and the BIA Regional Office in Minnesota opposing the Gun Lake Tribe's application from moving forward. We have also drafted talking points and technical questions, and have counseled "friendly" members of the Michigan delegation on this matter. We have met with politically relevant staff at the Department of Interior and have thoroughly explained the impact of such a casino on Western Michigan and on the Saginaw Chippewa Tribe, and have described to them the views of Republican Members of Congress in this region of the State.

Like Bay Mills, the Gun Lake situation is not going away. The Gun Lake Tribe has made public comments to the press that they will approach Governor Granholm in an effort to obtain a Class III gaming compact with the State of Michigan. Furthermore, due to the fact that the Environmental Assessment is still under review at BIA, a real threat remains that the Gun Lake Tribe could obtain land in trust within the next 18 months.

**Pokagon Band** -- The Pokagon Band represents the most immediate threat to the Tribe's market share. They have a compact with the State of Michigan, and have all but satisfied each of the Federal requirements to place land in trust for its proposed casino. Strategically located in New Buffalo, Michigan, the Pokagon tribe is approximately 70 miles from Chicago -- 300 miles closer than Mt. Pleasant. Pokagon is currently fighting a lawsuit that is now the only remaining obstacle left to prevent them from breaking ground on the new casino site. Once that roadblock is cleared, the tribe expects to complete construction and open its doors for business in less than a year.

The proposed Pokagon resort and casino will occupy 675 acres of land and cost approximately \$160 million to build. The tribe has partnered with Minnesota-based Lakes Gaming to build the 6,000-slot facility. The casino, as it is now planned, will become the fourth largest Indian casino in the Nation and will likely draw over 4 million gamblers a year and generate about \$250 million annually<sup>1</sup>. It is clear that the facility will effectively place a clamp on the upstate flow of gamblers from Southwest Michigan and Chicago.

On May 9, 2002, U.S. District Court Judge James Robertson stated his concern that the Department of Interior rushed to approve casino plans for the Pokagon tribe without enough consideration of the casino's environmental impact. Judge Robertson did not issue a ruling, but did agree to hear arguments about whether further environmental studies are needed for the planned casino site in New Buffalo. The conflict arose after an opposition group, Taxpayers of Michigan Against Casinos, sued the Interior Department after it announced it would take land into trust for the Pokagon Band's planned casino. The Interior Department's

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<sup>1</sup> "Casino to create 5,575 jobs Report predicts major impact from gaming," *South Bend Tribune*, Thursday, July 26, 2001.

decision came on January 19, 2001, one day before the Bush Administration took office.

Judge Robertson questioned why the government did not wait for the Army Corps of Engineers to complete its report on the impact of wetlands in the area before finding that the 50-acre casino and resort would not significantly impact the environment. He also felt that the Interior Department should have waited for the State of Michigan to complete an assessment and issue a letter declaring there would be no effect on the environment. "The suggestion in the record is a rush to judgment.....Get it done. Never mind the no effect letter."<sup>2</sup>

On January 21, 2003, the Pokagon's claim for summary judgment was denied. Judge Robertson's order (Civil Action 01-0398) temporarily barred BIA from taking land into trust for Pokagon while the Environmental Assessment is "remanded for such further evaluation and elaboration" concerning secondary growth effects.

Throughout the court proceedings, Greenberg Traurig met with nearly every member of the Michigan delegation, the House and Senate Leadership, and the White House. Direct lobbying efforts centered on the overall impact of the Pokagon casino proposal, focusing specifically on environmental implications, as well as the deficient legal standing of the Pokagon compact given that it was granted via a State resolution rather than through enacting legislation. Greenberg Traurig also highlighted the political impact on Republican members of the House of Representatives if another tribal casino opens to the relevant political operatives within the Bush Administration, the Republican National Committee, the National Republican Congressional Committee, and the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

#### XV.) On-going Legal and Lobbying Research Projects

##### Gaming Issues

###### Bay Mills

- Drafted various letters and talking points regarding opposition
- Drafted questions for Indian Affairs hearing

###### Gun Lake

- Drafted and revised multiple letters from [REDACTED] and others to Secretary Norton/Interior, Regional BIA Office, former [REDACTED] and current Governor Granholm pointing out the multiple problems with Gun Lake's plans to construct a casino in

<sup>2</sup> "Judge Raises Questions about Federal Approval for Pokagon Casino," *Associated Press Newswires*. Friday, May 10, 2002.

the rural area and urging them not to negotiate a compact or to take land into trust.

- Researched and obtained Gun Lake's Environmental Assessment (EA) and supporting attachments/tests. Reviewed and analyzed the EA and summarized key deficiencies. Drafted multiple letters and talking papers on the same for use on the Hill and with Interior and BIA to oppose taking land into trust and compact negotiation. Researched environmental law related to the same and analyze current state of the law regarding requirements for an Environmental Assessment and an Environmental Impact Statement.
- Tracked lawsuits relating to Gun Lake's compact negotiation process and land into trust process. Reviewed and summarized law related to these suits and rulings from these suits to educate and inform those on the Hill, at Interior and at local BIA offices.
- Provided expert review and analysis of Gun Lake's Environmental Assessment in order to evaluate its compliance with law, the facial validity of its supporting technical information and the potential avenues of response.
- Researched Gun Lake casino project for [REDACTED] talking points when they meet with Interior
- Outlined Factual and Political Attacks on Gun Lake's Environmental Assessment
- Drafted letters to Interior from [REDACTED] re. Land in Trust process generally.
- Drafted letters to Interior from [REDACTED] disputing Gun Lake's Environmental Assessment for the proposed casino.
- Drafted letters to Michigan Governor Granholm and Regional BIA office (in Minnesota) from [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] opposing Gun Lake's Land in Trust application
- Various talking points for Members

#### Oakland County

- Memorandum regarding gaming and polling data

#### Huron

- [REDACTED] MI AG, and others to Secretary Norton/Interior, Regional BIA Office, and former Governor Engler pointing out the serious problems with Huron's plans to construct a casino and urging them not to negotiate a new compact or to take land into trust.
- Tracked lawsuits related to Huron's compact negotiation process and land into trust process. Researched law related to the suits and track and analyze rulings from these suits to use to educate those

on the hill, at Interior and at local BIA offices. Drafted talking points on the same issues.

- Tracked land to trust application process and compact negotiation process and work on strategy to fight both processes.

#### Pokagon

- Drafted and revised letters from various representatives to Secretary Norton/Interior, Regional BIA Office, and former Governor Engler pointing out the serious problems with Pokagon's plans to construct a casino and urging them not to negotiate a new compact or to take land into trust.
- Tracked lawsuits related to Pokagon's compact negotiation process and land into trust process. Researched law related to the suits and track and analyze rulings from these suits to use to educate those on the Hill, at Interior and at local BIA offices. Drafted talking points on the same issues.
- Tracked land to trust application process and compact negotiation process and worked on strategy to fight both processes.

#### **Tribal School Construction Demonstration Program**

- Researched process and funding opportunities
- Drafted letters to Interior from [REDACTED] requesting funds for Demonstration Program for Saginaw
- Researched process for construction funding of Tribal schools particularly schools not classified as BIA schools.
- Background research on tribal colleges including funding possibilities and accreditation issues.

#### **Tribal Justice**

- Drafted letter to Michigan delegation regarding new crime and court issues
- Met with Tribal Judge and prepared memorandum regarding recent issues and federal enforcement for Department of Justice
- Composed complete list of all Department of Justice programs
- Analyzed the Indian Civil Rights Act for sentencing guidelines

#### **Tax Issues**

- Devised plan to reduce adjusted gross income of tribal members in order to qualify for native American Housing Fund grants, so that their adjusted gross income, for Federal income tax purposes, will be reduced in order to qualify for grants. The plan included trusts for the benefit of minor and incompetent tribal members, a 401(k) plan and a flexible benefit plan.
- Reviewed proposed Michigan tax compact and monitored state tax developments impacting on the Tribe

- Michigan Unemployment Tax Matter -- reviewed applicability of Michigan portion of Federal Unemployment Tax on salaries paid by Tribe

#### HUD Issues

- Drafted memorandum regarding 25/99 year lease provisions
- Drafted memorandum regarding low income housing qualification and HUD money program options (all see tax issues)
- Drafted memorandum regarding tribal housing needs and HUD Block grant programs

#### Bond Issues

- Researched and drafted memorandum regarding tax-exempt bonding for Native American tribes
- Explored options to give the Saginaw Chippewa's tribal government and tribal business ventures expanded access to tax-exempt financing through Internal Revenue Code amendments. Specifically, we worked with the Congressional delegation and key Members and staff of Committees of jurisdiction in drafting legislation to remove the "essential governmental function" restriction on tribal governmental bonds. The legislative and regulatory history of this restriction has defined "essential governmental function" narrowly (e.g., roads, sewers, schools). In removing the restriction, such legislation would enable Saginaw to issue governmental bonds to finance facilities for tribal use even if the facilities do not serve such functions. Our work on the tribal bond provision continues in the 108th Congress.

#### Homeland Security

- Drafted Michigan/Saginaw specific memorandum regarding Homeland Security bill and impact on tribal funding
- Side by side of House and Senate bills

#### Grants

- Grant alerts on various grants
- Wrote grant for Domestic Violence programs
- Writing grants for Native Language funding
- Researched funding opportunities to support core library services
- Researched funding opportunities for planning and developing a treatment center resulting in Victim's of Crime program

#### Other

- Various side-by-sides on Omnibus and other legislation for analysis of tribal issues
- Reviewed major legislation: Welfare reform; Education reform; Energy; Homeland Security; Economic Development; Indian Land Claims



- Drafted memorandum summarizing new legislation introduced by [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] from Committee on Indian Affairs
- Attended NIGA Public Relations meeting to understand politics of  
upcoming pro-gaming campaign

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**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoff] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Friday, April 05, 2002 12:35 PM  
**To:** 'Chris'  
**Subject:** RE: April 15-18 visit

Hard to chat today unfortunately. Any thing urgent? Anything we can do on email?

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Chris [mailto:cpetras@gte.net]  
**Sent:** Friday, April 05, 2002 6:52 AM  
**To:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
**Subject:** Re: April 15-18 visit

My understanding is that the breakfast will begin at 8:00 AM. However, the location is yet to be determined. Also, an agenda is under development for the event.

The Chief, Sub-Chief, and I are traveling together. We will arrive Monday evening. The Sub-Chief will return Tuesday (April 16) after the breakfast.

I believe the Chief is staying all day Tuesday and returning Wednesday (April 17). I will know more next week. Are you available by phone today? If so, lets talk. Thanks

----- Original Message -----

**From:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
**To:** cpetras@gte.net  
**Sent:** Friday, April 05, 2002 12:04 AM  
**Subject:** RE: April 15-18 visit

Sounds good. Do we have a tentative time and date?

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Chris [mailto:cpetras@gte.net]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 03, 2002 4:34 PM  
**To:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
**Subject:** Re: April 15-18 visit

Jack, I spoke with Jake and indicated that we would like your presence at the event. He had no problems with our request. So, if the event is still on, plan to be there with us. I understand that an agenda is forthcoming. I will update you soon. Thanks.

----- Original Message -----

**From:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
  
**To:** cpetras@gte.net  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 30, 2002 11:32 PM  
**Subject:** RE: April 15-18 visit

GTG-R005430

5/6/2004

Thanks. either way is fine with me.

---

-----Original Message-----

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@gte.net]  
Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2002 5:02 PM  
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
Subject: Re: April 15-18 visit

I spoke with Jake earlier today about who is participating and he indicated that Tribal representatives and leaders would be the only individuals in attendance. However, I have heard that story before and at previous events (none involving Jake) I have attended that rule was not followed. I think you should be there with us. I spoke with the Chief and Sub-Chief today and both are trying to schedule the event. I will know more tomorrow. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@gtlaw.com>  
To: cpetras@gte.net <cpetras@gte.net>  
Date: Wednesday, March 27, 2002 4:37 PM  
Subject: RE: April 15-18 visit

Should I be joining you at the Rove breakfast? Jet let me know and I would be pleased to come. Of course, if you want to do that without me, no problem. Just let me know.

-----Original Message-----

From: Chris [mailto:cpetras@gte.net]  
Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2002 3:14 PM  
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
Subject: Fw: April 15-18 visit

-----Original Message-----

From: Chris <cpetras@gte.net>  
To: boulangert@gtlaw.com <boulangert@gtlaw.com>  
Date: Wednesday, March 27, 2002 3:11 PM  
Subject: April 15-18 visit

I am scheduled to visit D.C. again on April 15-18. (arrive around 7:00 PM on Monday and returning 9:00 AM on Thursday). The breakfast with Carl Rove is scheduled for Tuesday (April 16) morning from 8:00 AM until 9:00 AM (place to be announced). You can begin scheduling meetings for that visit also. I am asking the Chief and/or Sub-Chief to join me. Thanks. BTW, I phoned the Director of Tribal Education to see what grants, if any, the Academy has applied for. I am awaiting a return call.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to postmaster@gtlaw.com.

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GTG-R005431

5/6/2004

**From:** Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov) [/o=GT LAW/ou=WDC/cn=Recipients/cn=abramoffj] on behalf of Abramoff, Jack (Dir-DC-Gov)  
**Sent:** Friday, April 05, 2002 12:35 PM  
**To:** Gertner, Ilisa (AdmAst-DC-Gov)  
**Subject:** FW: April 15-18 visit

Please mark a Karl Rove/SagChip breakfast on the 16th at 8 am. Location tbd.

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Chris [mailto:cpetras@gte.net]  
**Sent:** Friday, April 05, 2002 6:52 AM  
**To:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
**Subject:** Re: April 15-18 visit

My understanding is that the breakfast will begin at 8:00 AM. However, the location is yet to be determined. Also, an agenda is under development for the event.

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I believe the Chief is staying all day Tuesday and returning Wednesday (April 17). I will know more next week. Are you available by phone today? If so, lets talk. Thanks

----- Original Message -----

**From:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
**To:** cpetras@gte.net  
**Sent:** Friday, April 05, 2002 12:04 AM  
**Subject:** RE: April 15-18 visit

Sounds good. Do we have a tentative time and date?

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Chris [mailto:cpetras@gte.net]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 03, 2002 4:34 PM  
**To:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
**Subject:** Re: April 15-18 visit

Jack, I spoke with Jake and indicated that we would like your presence at the event. He had no problems with our request. So, if the event is still on, plan to be there with us. I understand that an agenda is forthcoming. I will update you soon. Thanks.

----- Original Message -----

**From:** abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
  
**To:** cpetras@gte.net  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 30, 2002 11:32 PM  
**Subject:** RE: April 15-18 visit

GTG-R005433

5/8/2004

Thanks. either way is fine with me.

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-----Original Message-----

From: Chris [mailto:cpetra@redacted]  
Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2002 5:02 PM  
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
Subject: Re: April 15-18 visit

I spoke with Jake earlier today about who is participating and he indicated that Tribal representatives and leaders would be the only individuals in attendance. However, I have heard that story before and at previous events (none involving Jake) I have attended that rule was not followed. I think you should be there with us. I spoke with the Chief and Sub-Chief today and both are trying to schedule the event. I will know more tomorrow. Thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: abramoffj@gtlaw.com <abramoffj@redacted>  
To: cpetra@gte.net <cpetra@redacted>  
Date: Wednesday, March 27, 2002 4:37 PM  
Subject: RE: April 15-18 visit

Should I be joining you at the Rove breakfast? Jet let me know and I would be pleased to come. Of course, if you want to do that without me, no problem. Just let me know.

-----Original Message-----

From: Chris [mailto:cpetra@redacted]  
Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2002 3:14 PM  
To: abramoffj@gtlaw.com  
Subject: Fw: April 15-18 visit

-----Original Message-----

From: Chris <cpetra@redacted>  
To: boulangere@redacted <boulangere@redacted>  
Date: Wednesday, March 27, 2002 3:11 PM  
Subject: April 15-18 visit

I am scheduled to visit D.C. again on April 15-18. (arrive around 7:00 PM on Monday and returning 9:00 AM on Thursday). The breakfast with Carl Rove is scheduled for Tuesday (April 16) morning from 8:00 AM until 9:00 AM (place to be announced). You can begin scheduling meetings for that visit also. I am asking the Chief and/or Sub-Chief to join me. Thanks. BTW, I phoned the Director of Tribal Education to see what grants, if any, the Academy has applied for. I am awaiting a return call.

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To reply to our email administrator directly, please send an email to [redacted]

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5/8/2004